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CMP-SPRCM-76-30

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 892
October 12, 1976

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Landslips and Earth-Cracks Are Treated Calmly

by

Hsin Ch'i-ming (忻 启 明)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

Different classes have traditionally adopted different attitudes toward earthquakes and all other grave natural calamities. "Landslips and earth-cracks are treated calmly!" This is a glorious tribute to the people of T'angshan and other areas armed with Mao Tsetung Thought in the face of earthquakes, and a clarion answer of Chinese Communists and all revolutionary people in dealing with earthquakes!

Yes, landslips and earth-cracks are nothing to be afraid of. The whole natural world advances in the course of landslips and the cracking of the earth. It is precisely landslips and earth-cracks that created the rivers, lakes and seas, lofty mountains and vast plains. It is precisely landslips and earth-cracks that enabled life to be born and develop in the course of struggle. It is precisely landslips and earth-cracks that enabled man's ancestors to evolve from animals and begin the history of human society. As many as 5 million tremors, large and small, take place in the world annually, almost more than ten tremors in every minute. However, doesn't the earth keep turning? Don't the people keep making revolution? And doesn't society keep advancing? What happened when such strong quakes hit T'angshan and other areas. Isn't it true that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, our people, taking class struggle as the key link and driven by the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, have withstood one acid test after another, triumphed over one difficulty after another, created one miracle after another, and won one great victory after another? The working class in T'angshan puts it well: "The earth may move and mountains may shake, but the iron will and revolutionary confidence of the working class are unshakable."

This is true of the struggle against nature; it is also true of class struggle. The proletariat has always been full of confidence in its inevitable victory in struggles that appear on the road of its advance. Without struggle there will be no progress. "The old system collapses like a landslip and an earth-crack, but at the same time a new society is born in indescribable throes." (Lenin, "The Present Important Tasks") From the slave to the feudal society, from the feudal to the capitalist society and then to the socialist society, wasn't there a process of struggle involving great upheavals, great divisions, and great reorganization? Our Party also has advanced in the course of struggle. The ten major line struggles may be said to be ten "landslips and earth-cracks," but they did not in the least tarnish our Party's brilliant image. Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang appeared, but the K'unlun Mountain was not overthrown! The Lin Piao anti-Party clique emerged, but Lushan was not flattened! Now Teng Hsiao-p'ing surfaced and incited a handful of counter-revolutionaries to

make trouble at Tienanmen Square, and they wanted to gobble the dictatorship of the proletariat at one gulp. Their conspiracies were smashed, and Tienanmen now looks even more magnificent! "Gunfire licks the heavens, shells pit the earth." Mountains crumble and earth cracks. The world is in great disorder. But these can only frighten the revisionist sparrows with weak nerves in the bush, and panic-stricken, they go off in search for a jewelled palace in elfland's hills. But Marxists, as Lu Hsün said, "charge toward the storms in face of landslips and earth-cracks." They persevere in revolution and persevere in struggle until final victory!

The reason why the proletariat has such revolutionary spirit of "calmly treating" natural calamities and class struggle is that it embraces the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, holding that everything in the world of man divides into two. Bad things and good things may be transformed into each other under given conditions, and bad things may lead to good results. Thus, faced with grave natural calamities and sharp class struggle, they are able to see the essence through the appearance, the bright future amid difficulties, and victory amid struggles. It is true that an earthquake causes people losses, but it also tempers the revolutionary will of the revolutionaries so that they may display more glaringly their heroic features amid difficulties. Disturbances by class enemies also bring harm to the revolution, but struggle may expose the enemies and educate the people. We are no thorough-going materialists if we see only the damages caused by earthquakes without seeing the high spirits and militant revolutionary will of the masses of people in the anti-quake and relief struggle, without seeing the incontest-able superiority of the socialist system and without seeing that new socialist things are breaking out from the soil everywhere and growing sturdily. Nor are we thoroughgoing materialists if we see only the harm done to the revolution by the class enemies' disturbances without seeing that the death-bed struggle by class enemies only indicates that they are approaching their doom, that the masses of people are continuing to raise their revolutionary awareness, and that the revolution is advancing victoriously. For this reason, with the socialist revolution deepening unceasingly today, we must always preserve a militant revolutionary will, and ideologically must persevere in applying the law of the unity of opposites to the study of the world and society. Only thus can we have full faith in the inevitable victory of the revolutionary cause. Whether we are celebrating a victory or facing a difficult moment of landslip and earth-crack, we must always stand on the side of the people, warmly support the new socialist things, promote the revolutionary transformation of things, and push the victorious advance of the revolution.

Of course, the fruit of victory does not drop from the skies. The decisive condition for transforming bad things into good things is the human factor, the advanced class and the correct line representing the advanced class. To triumph over natural calamities and defeat class enemies, we must not only have the revolutionary spirit of daring to win, but more important still, must have a Marxist line. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the magic wand for defeating all reaction-ary classes, including the bourgeoisie inside the Party, and a magic wand

for beating natural calamities as well. The historical experience tells us that in class society, man's struggle against nature is always closely linked with class struggle. Moreover, under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the struggle against nature is invariably manifested in a concentrated way as a struggle between the two lines. Since the liberation, whenever serious natural calamities appeared, the chieftains of the revisionist line within the Party always jumped out to create rumors to deceive the masses, spread pessimistic moods, and called for turning the clock back in a vain attempt to abolish the revolution and restore capitalism. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, like Liu Shao-ch'i, was scared stiff by the difficulties during the three-year period of temporary economic difficulties. He advocated "regardless of whether it is white or black, a cat which catches mice is a good cat" and vigorously promoted san-tzu i-pao and "three-reconciliations /with imperialism, revisionism and reaction/ and one-reduction /of aid to third world countries/" in a vain bid to reverse the direction of the revolution. Such perverted acts of the chieftains of the revisionist lines within the Party, while showing their decadence and decline, also tell us by negative example that to triumph over natural calamities, it is necessary to persist in taking class struggle as the key link. At present, it is necessary to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and push all work ahead. Meanwhile, it is necessary to be alert against rumors created by class enemies with the aim of deceiving the public, changing the general direction of the struggle to criticize Teng, and undermining our efforts to grasp revolution and promote production. Resolute blows must be dealt to the sabotage activity of a handful of class enemies. Only by persistently criticizing Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts can we make sure that man will triumph over nature. This is a truth that has been confirmed and will continue to be confirmed by facts.

Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "If they /workers, peasants and working intellectuals/ take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." The Chinese people armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought can withstand the test of acute class struggle as well as the test of grave natural calamities. As long as we advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and unswervingly trust and rely on the masses, we shall have the confidence and the ability to surmount all difficulties on our road forward and win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

When the Earth Turns, It Actually Signifies the Advent of a New Earth

- Read Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's "Earthquake Proclamation"

by

Han T'ien-yü (韩天宇) and Ch'en Tsung-hai (陈宗海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

In May 1853, the Nanking region was struck by a strong earthquake of magnitude 6 or higher. According to Records of Chujung County, "In a matter of ten days several big shocks occurred. Houses shook and collapsed. The inhabitants lived in terror, and some went out to sleep on the open ground at night." Chujung county was only scores of li away from Nanking. From what was recorded here, one could guess that Nanking city must have sustained enormous damage from the quake.

How did the rulers of Nanking at that time react to the quake? If they were the ignorant and stupid governors and inspector-generals of the Ch'ing court, they certainly would be seized with panic. They would either pray to Heaven for its blessings or take flight to elsewhere to preserve their lives and property. However, the city was at that time ruled by the peasant heroes of T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo. Since breaking out from Yungan, the T'ai-p'ing army had heroically and deftly freed itself from the enemy's encirclement, interception and pursuit. Travelling down the Yangtze River from Wuhan, they fought and won all the way, as if splitting bamboo. In March 1853, they captured Nanking and established a capital there known as T'ienching /Heavenly Capital/. This strong quake struck only two months after this new-born peasant revolutionary regime established its capital, and it was a most stern test to the peasant heroes.

What was to be done? As aftershocks continued after the big shocks, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the T'ai-p'ing revolutionary leader, unhesitantly picked up a pen and on a 3-foot yellow silk scroll wrote with great resolve a "proclamation on earthquake" --

In six days all kinds of devils were created,
Let us wipe them out now.
When the earth turns, it actually signifies the
advent of a new earth.
When Heaven turns, it means the permanent establishment
of a new heavenly kingdom.
Onward march and kill the foes boldly,
Troops in the Capital must step up patrol and eliminate
defectors.
The moment has come to unify the land,
May compatriots live in peace and tranquility.

What a proclamation filled with such optimism and revolutionary spirit! When the T'ai-p'ing army first took Nanking, it still had not held its feet steady. The Ch'ing troops under the command of Hsiang Jung were closely on its heels. They established a command at Hsiaoling and were known as the South Yangtze Great Camp. Another Ch'ing army under the command of Ch'i Shan rushed to Yangchou from Honan and called itself the North Yangtze Great Camp. Within T'ienching itself, a large number of spies of the Ch'ing troops were in hiding, among whom were Chang Chi-keng and his ilk. The strong quake thus only compounded the precarious situation. T'ienching at that time faced not only the military situation where the enemy's troops were closing in but also an extremely difficult economic situation. It was therefore ruled that with the exception of the armed forces fighting on the front, everyone in the city, men and women, should take liquid meals to economize on grain. Under these circumstances, counter-revolutionaries took the opportunity to create rumors to confuse the people and vainly attempted to disrupt their life and shake their will. However, neither serious natural calamities nor frantic attacks by class enemies could in the least shake the revolutionary will and determination of the army and people of the T'ai-p'ing. And this proclamation of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's precisely focalized such revolutionary will and aspirations of the army and people. Its publication at once boosted the morale. It was recorded at that time: "In the Kueich'ou (1853) year, battle victories were won and the people were grateful for them"; "everything was done according to a rigid code of laws, which brought peace to and commanded the respect of the people." The army and the civilians in T'ienching not only were not crushed by the strong quake and the powerful enemies closing in; on the contrary, in this severe test they further tempered their revolutionary will and expanded and developed their revolutionary ranks.

But the significance of the earthquake proclamation was not limited to this.

The earthquake proclamation was a declaration. It pronounced a thorough political break with the reactionary feudal ruling class. The Confucians traditionally preached Tung Chung-shu's official philosophy of "Heaven does not change, so the Way does not change." They advocated the eternity of the order of feudal rule and vainly attempted to cheat the laboring people into willingly submitting themselves to their domination. The T'ai-p'ing revolution was a great political earthquake to feudal rule. For this, the reactionary chieftain of the landlord class, Tseng Kuo-fan, once cried out in alarm: "All rites, codes about human relationship, books of poetry and documents were destroyed overnight. This is not only a disaster for our great Ch'ing, but a disaster since the establishment of the Confucian tradition. Confucius and Mencius must weep bitterly in the other world." Tseng was indeed overcome with anxiety and grief. The earthquake proclamation produced the opposite effect. The T'ai-p'ing heroes warmly hailed the great upheavals of nature and society and were determined, in these sharp changes, to create "a new heaven, new earth, new people and new world." This proud and broad revolutionary mind was

an inherent feature of revolutionaries, and the declining reactionary classes could never understand this.

The earthquake proclamation was an indictment. It profoundly criticized the Confucians' ghostly talk of "interaction between Heaven and man." In his Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un Ch'iu), Confucius put earthquake on the top of the list of calamities. From Tung Chung-shu of Han to Ssuma Kuang and Fu Pi of Sung, all Confucians arbitrarily connected earthquakes and other natural calamities with human affairs and created rumors to deceive the people and confuse black and white in order to attack the progressive forces and preserve their decadent reactionary rule. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's earthquake proclamation, taking a different course, proposed that "when the earth turns, it actually signifies the advent of a new earth; when Heaven turns, it means the permanent establishment of a new heavenly kingdom." It solemnly declared that an earthquake was a premonitory sign of the destruction of the old world and the birth of a new world. It was a severe criticism of the declining world outlook of the reactionary classes. At the same time as Hung Hsiu-ch'üan issued his proclamation on earthquake, the reactionary chieftain of the Ch'ing court, Emperor Hsien-feng, "discovered a mass of black gas one evening," ordered the big and small officials of the ministry of astronomy to make careful observations and speculations, and he himself went to pray for the blessings of Heaven and his ancestors at T'ient'an, T'aimiao and other places. He thought that by so doing he could reverse the situation of "harassments by the bandits" (referring to the T'ai-p'ing revolution) and forever preserve the Ch'ing empire. This was a sheer pipe dream! These two different classes reflected two diametrically different world outlooks.

The earthquake proclamation was also a march order. "Onward march and kill the foes boldly; troops in the Capital step up patrol and eliminate defectors." These awe-inspiring words were no empty words; they were put into effect in real earnest. In May 1853, that is, the same month the strong quake hit the Nanking region, the T'ai-p'ing army despatched Li K'ai-fang, Lin Feng-hsiang and Chi Wen-yüan to lead 20,000 troops on a northern expedition and Lai Han-ying and Tseng T'ien-yang to lead another 20,000 troops on a western expedition. These two heroic forces beat the Ch'ing troops soundly and forced them to flee. Their most splendid victories led to the beginning of a new phase when the T'ai-p'ing revolution was at its zenith.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan's earthquake proclamation was written more than 120 years ago, but when we read it today, we still feel the sparkling revolutionary optimism that pervaded it. It typically reflects the character of the Chinese people, proving that this nation of ours is a nation with glorious revolutionary tradition and fine historical heritage. As our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out profoundly: "We the Chinese have the spirit of fighting the enemy to the last drop of our blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations."

More than 120 years have elapsed. Today, the Chinese people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought stand higher than any great people in history in

terms of consciousness, determination and ability. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we, firmly taking class struggle as the key link, will certainly win more and greater victories in the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and in the anti-quake and relief struggle. We will march ahead in more rapid strides for the cause of socialist revolution and construction!

All are past and gone!
For truly great men
Look to this age alone.

* * *

Continue To Purge the Revolutionary Ranks of "Termites"

by

Shih I-ko (石一歌)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

"Enemies are not to be feared. What are to be feared the most are the termites in one's own camp, because many setbacks are caused by them." ("Letter of December 6, 1934") This is a thought-provoking historical lesson summed up by Lu Hsün from prolonged struggles. Lu Hsün warned the revolutionaries: You must not only beware of the enemy who is charging toward you, but even more you must guard against "termites" in your own camp and drive them out.

"Termites" refer to some opportunists and speculators hiding in the revolutionary ranks. Donning the cloak of revolution, many of them usurp relatively high leadership posts, yet they do nothing but sabotage and make trouble, working in diametrical opposition to the correct line in every respect in an attempt to change the revolution radically. These people excel in creating rumors, firing shots from a dark corner and playing the "day and night tactics" of double-dealers. "In the daytime they utter some high-sounding phrases; at night they deal in driving edges, sowing seeds of dissension and manufacturing splits." During the left-wing literary and art movement of the 1930's, the "four fellows" such as Chou Yang and T'ien Han, were among such a group of "termites." Having wormed their way into the leadership organ of the "Leftwing Association of Writers," they took upon themselves as the personification of the Party. First they went all out to push Wang Ming's "Left"-inclined opportunist line, engaged in adventures and practiced sectarianism and splits; later they again followed Wang Ming in promoting class and national capitulation, trumpeted "literature of national defense," privately disbanded the "Left-wing Association of Writers," and sold the leadership to the Kuomintang. Regarding the great communist fighter Lu Hsün as the obstacle to their pushing the erroneous line, they did not scruple to disguise themselves and attack, slander and threaten him from his back. Lu Hsün severely condemned such "acts that are close to those of 'traitors'," and more than once indicated that he "hates and despises (these 'termites') more than the obvious enemies."

Lu Hsün was particularly disgusted with "termites" because from the bloody lessons of class struggle he saw the special disruptive role played by them and recognized the harm they could cause the revolution was very serious. During the 1911 Revolution, those reactionary remnants and phoney foreign devils wormed their way one after another into the revolutionary party, taking advantage of the feeble and compromising nature of the bourgeoisie. Some revolutionaries were worthy of being called fighters against the Ch'ing court, but they were completely caught unawares by these "termites" and eventually were sacrificed under their butcher's knife.

During the first revolutionary war period, the artillery and machine-guns of the imperialists and the northern warlords failed to halt the revolution, but the revolt of Chiang Kai-shek coupled with the Right-inclined capitulation of Ch'en Tu-hsiu caused the spectacular great revolution to abort. These historical lessons show that while people perceive more easily and clearly the obvious enemies, they often lack vigilance against the "termites." A fortress can be taken most easily from within. The "termites" who sneak into the revolutionary ranks to fight a "heart-digging war" can play a reactionary role that open enemies cannot play. If they were allowed to usurp the leadership and the erroneous line took the ruling position, the revolution would fail. Thus, Lu Hsün, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out: "It is rare that a revolution is ruined by those who started it; the end of the revolution is probably caused only by the infiltration of speculators. Boring from within, that is." ("Three-Leisures Collection: A Grand View of Extermination of Communists")

"Boring from within" graphically and deeply generalizes the characteristics of activity of "termites" and the danger posed by them. Many "termites," particularly those "termites" that usurp the leadership posts of the revolution, lead the revolution to defeat chiefly by altering the revolutionary line. This was so in the democratic revolution period in which Lu Hsün lived, and is even more so in the socialist revolution period today. Appearing within the Party as the hardcore of the entire bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders hold quite a considerable portion of the Party and state power and form a political faction within the Party vainly trying to restore capitalism. Their most essential political characteristic is to obstinately push the revisionist line. Chieftains of the revisionist line like Kao Kang, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are commanders of the bourgeoisie within the Party; they are the most ferocious and dangerous "termites" hiding in the Communist Party and the ranks of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin said: "For the opportunist activists within the working-class movement to defend the bourgeoisie is better than the property owners to do so by themselves." ("Second Congress of the Communist International: Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Task of the Communist International") The fact of the Soviet Union turning revisionist has already given us a lesson by negative example. In the former years, the intervention by 14 countries, revolts by the white bandits, and invasion by Hitler failed to strangle the proletarian regime, but after Party capitalist roaders like Khrushchev and Brezhnev usurped the leadership of the Soviet party and state, they "bored" the proletarian dictatorship and restored capitalism by means of frantically pushing the revisionist line. Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself wanted to follow in the footsteps of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Dishing out the revisionist "general program" of "taking the three directives as the key link," he negated the Party's program and its basic line for the historical phase of socialism for the express purpose of "boring from within" and turning a Marxist-Leninist party into a revisionist party and the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Those high-sounding phrases he used to deceive people are merely a coat of protective color of "termites."

The appearance of "termites" within the revolutionary ranks is not accidental, for it reflects class struggle and has profound class and ideological roots. A revolutionary party and revolutionary ranks advance through the violent storms of class struggle. When the torrents of revolution are surging forward, it is inevitable that the good is mixed with the bad. Not only some alien class elements and spies and hidden traitors despatched by the enemy but also some people who for various reasons want to find a way out in the revolutionary force will worm their way into the revolutionary party and ranks. When criticizing Chou Yang and his like, Lu Hsün pointed out: Although these "termites" called themselves "revolutionary writers," "in fact they are the wandering children of bankrupt households." In the course of the revolution, "he too has grievances, resists and fights, but very often (he takes over) the struggle tactics of brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts of decadent families," and he "never works for the general good." Not only are they reluctant to seriously remold themselves, but they want to transform the Party and the revolutionary ranks according to the world outlook of the exploiting classes, and by doing so they are bound to become "termites." Although some people are not children of bankrupt households, yet "their heads are filled with old ideas and things." Hankering after the exploiting-class paradise, they regard joining the revolution as buying the stock of a company, as "getting the dividend due on the capital, like a life insurance company." Thus, faced with the butcher's knife of the enemy or when the revolution ran into difficulties and suffered setbacks, they would turn their heels and flee or even fall into the arms of the enemy. Lu Hsün said incisively: "Whenever a revolutionary force arises, its fighters are generally motivated by the same desire to resist the status quo, but are quite divergent in ultimate objectives. They either work for society or a small group, for a lover or for themselves....Yet naturally, because their ultimate objectives differ, during the march some often drop out, some take flight, some become despondent and some revolt." ("Two-Hearts Collection: Non-Revolutionary Radical Revolutionists") "The different ultimate objectives" give concentrated expression to the basic antagonism between class interests and political lines. The "ultimate objective" of the proletariat is to abolish all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation, to build "a classless society," namely communism, and this is something that people adhering to the bourgeois stand cannot accept nor understand. Some of them even failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, and others, albeit they travelled a distance with the proletariat in the democratic revolution, "are bound to undergo splits, cohesion and changes in the mid-way of building socialism." ("Notes after 'October'") Teng Hsiao-p'ing did just that. Joining the democratic revolution with the political ideal of building a bourgeois republic, he consistently refused to transform his thinking. After the democratic revolution he first did not want to move ahead and then opposed the revolution. As a result he has found himself locked in acute class struggle with the workers and peasants. From a "fellow-traveller" he has become a capitalist roader and a big "termite."

Since "termites" are so antagonistic and dangerous to the proletariat, what should revolutionaries do? Lu Hsün answered in a firm and clear tone: "Fight them; there is no other alternative." ("Letter of June 9, 1934") Engulfed in white terror and surrounded by enemies, Lu Hsün

nevertheless was resolute in applying Marxism to his analysis and criticism of opportunist theories of every description, to expose the rumors and sophistries spread by the "termites," to "turn the light on," so that "the demons hiding in the shade of a big tree will show their faces." With Marxism as the weapon, Lu Hsün seriously summed up the historical experiences of the struggle against the "termites," and summed up their multifarious covert tactics, so future revolutionaries could recognize their "old scores" and draw beneficial lessons from them.

Fighting is bound to meet with resistance. While Lu Hsün was engaged in an arduous fight with the "termites," the enemy put up a smoke-screen, described this struggle as a struggle between one person and another, and slandered it as a "civil war."

Yes, it was a "civil war," because it was a special struggle against disguised "comrades-in-arms" in the same camp. However, its basic essence was that of a life-and-death class struggle, and this struggle had a close bearing on the success or defeat of the revolution and on China's destiny. Therefore, it was an important front of the battle between the armies of two big classes opposing each other, a manifestation of the intensification of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. In terms of class nature, it was in no way a "civil war" but an "external war"!

The appearance of the theory of "civil war" was designed to obliterate the class essence of the two-line struggle within the revolutionary ranks, to cover up the original features of the "termites," to create confusion in the thinking of people so that these "termites" could continue to cover their tracks. Lu Hsün saw through this trick. He said that this struggle "is actually for public, not personal grievances." "If it involves only personal affairs about us and has nothing to do with the general situation, then why talk volubly in the publications?" With a broad mind of a proletarian revolutionary, Lu Hsün never bothered himself with personal favor or rancor. Even those who had once erroneously opposed him, he would still take as comrades-in-arms in the same trench if they recognized their mistakes and toiled for the revolution. He would care for and look after them in every way. But in case of conflict on stand and line, he would not show the slightest mercy toward those who once had intimate connections with him. Could one refrain from strugle on questions of line and the general situation? In his view, if this was a "civil war," then revolutionaries should not avoid it but, on the contrary, "must continue this civil war to define the camp clearly." Here Lu Hsün's high proletarian Party spirit was shown.

Defining the "camp" clearly and wiping out the "termites" is a good thing, not a bad thing. It will make the revolutionary force more vigorous, instead of weakening it. Engels said rightly: "The development of the proletariat is everywhere realized amid internal struggles." ("Letter to A. Bebel") For this reason, faced with such fighting, the Marxist Lu Hsün was always full of revolutionary optimism and strong faith in charging forward bravely. He believed that only the newly emerging proletariat could have a future and that the development of the revolution did not rest with the "termites" -- even if the "termites" were "bigshots." Eliminating the

potential threat within the revolutionary ranks and preventing the danger of the fortress from being taken from within would certainly result in the appearance of a new phase of rapid development of the revolution. This struggle would inspire the real revolutionaries to march forward valiantly and would continue to draw the mighty new-born revolutionary forces into the great struggle. So, "with the passage of time, this force will increasingly become a pure and crack force." Some people were weary and pessimistic about the struggle, shaking their heads and heaving sighs. Lu Hsün pointed out that this was because either they "find themselves with the declining camp" and felt the threat of the impending doomsday or because they "place themselves outside the controversies" without plunging into the vortex of revolution or understanding the dialectics of revolution.

Lu Hsün foresaw that the struggle to wipe out the "termites" would "continue for a very long time," and the deepening of the revolution has testified to Lu Hsün's correct prediction. As long as there are classes and class struggle and as long as there are soil and conditions for generating a new bourgeoisie, new "termites" will continue to appear within the revolutionary ranks. We must firmly bear in mind Lu Hsün's warning and get well prepared mentally for protracted struggle. We are convinced that through the struggle to wipe out the "termites," our Party will grow stronger, our proletarian dictatorship will be more consolidated, and the bright future of communism will be unfolded before our eyes with more and more clarity!

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How Should We View the Situation?

- Comment on "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country"

by

Fang Hai (方海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

"On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country," dished out on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instruction, is a political declaration for his vain attempt to restore capitalism in China. This sinister article waves the sinister ensign of "taking the three directives as the key link" and spreads the dragnet of "rectification" in nine major spheres, threatening, so it appears, to gobble up our socialist state of proletarian dictatorship at one gulp. Its starting point is its complete negation of the excellent situation since the great proletarian cultural revolution began.

Is the situation since the start of the great cultural revolution truly fine or really chaotic? Is the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country consolidated as never before or "has it struck down the Party's good cadres and advanced models"? Is our socialist economic construction flourishing or has it "suffered serious losses"? Has our educational undertaking undergone profound changes and become an instrument of proletarian dictatorship or has it been ridden with "crises"? Is the literary and art stage one in which the orioles sing and swallows dart and a hundred flowers blossom or one "with the blooming of a single flower"? Is the scientific and technological front rife with brilliant achievements or "holding down the progress of the four modernizations"? To sum up on one point, is our country, having been baptized by the great cultural revolution, like the sun rising in the east or something akin to the allegation that the present is not as good as the past and like a "long-standing habit that is difficult to break"? This is our argument in principle with Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang. In "On the General Program" and other lengthy manuscripts, documents, speeches and comments, they stubbornly cling to and preach the latter views, maintaining that everything today is in a mess.

The debate on questions revolving around the situation is unavoidable. In viewing the situation, different classes are bound to arrive at radically different conclusions. Particularly after a major revolutionary movement, affirming or negating the excellent situation brought on by the revolution always reflects an acute struggle over whether to support or oppose this revolution. If you are a proletarian revolutionary, you will certainly feel happy about the smashing of the bourgeois headquarters commanded by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in the great cultural revolution and about the unprecedented consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. You will feel the situation is excellent. If you are a bourgeois reactionary, you will certainly feel sad about the collapse of

Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, people of your own kind, groaning in despair over the unsavory turn of events. The new socialist things that have appeared since the great cultural revolution began have blossomed all over the great earth of the fatherland like dazzling mountain flowers. With the deepening of the mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the vigorous growth of the leading bodies at all levels that combine the old, the middle-aged and the young, the May 7 road has been broadened and widened, the revolution in literature and art, in education and in health has scored immense gains, the educated youths in their hundreds of millions have gone to mountainous and rural areas, a new generation is growing up sturdily, and so on and so forth. The appearance and development of these new things that glitter with the radiance of the communist spirit more than anything else symbolizes the present excellent situation. What the proletariat approves will certainly meet with the disapproval of the bourgeoisie. In trying to replace taking class struggle as the key link with "taking the three directives as the key link" and the Party's basic line with the revisionist line, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang have to blacken the present situation. But in doing so they precisely betray their true reactionary features as the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

In negating the present excellent situation and labeling the proletariat as being "concerned only with politics and revolution and neglecting economics and production," Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang give the impression that they alone are concerned with economics and production. Is this really so? No, it is not. When we talk about the situation, we refer in the first place to the political situation, the situation of balance of power between classes. Politics is a concentrated expression of economics. The dazzling flowers of political revolution will certainly bear solid economic fruit. Let us look at the economic front since the start of the great cultural revolution: the mass movements to learn from Tachai in agriculture and from Tach'ing in industry have developed with vigor; up to last year agricultural bumper harvests had been brought in for 14 consecutive years; and industrial production has attained new levels with the appearance of many new and sophisticated industrial departments. In the sphere of science there have been new developments, such as the recovery of the artificial satellite. Last year marked the fulfillment of the gross industrial and agricultural output value targets set in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. With stable commodity prices and a brisk market, the life of the people has improved steadily. Why are the gentlemen who concocted "On the General Program" blind and deaf to these exciting ironclad facts? This can only show that you use the reactionary bourgeois political criteria, and not the abstract economic and production criteria to which you pay lip service, in weighing the situation. When you talk about economics and production, you only use this as a pretext for your real intent to settle the old scores with and reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution as well as to restore the old order and move backward.

Brightness and darkness, the main current and the side current, achievements and shortcomings, these have always existed in comparison with each other and developed in struggle against each other. The proletariat emphasizes and attaches importance to brightness and the main current, but it

has never denied the existence of darkness underneath brightness and the side current amid the main current. Our revolutionary work calls for the strengthening of the bright side to defeat the dark side and development of the main current to overcome the side current. As the decadent and declining class, the bourgeoisie has only the past and no future. Their class status determines that they can only be pessimists and defeatists in dealing with the question of revolution. It is unlikely that they will look forward; instead, they will always look backward, always underestimating the revolutionary forces and over-estimating the reactionary and decadent forces. They always exaggerate the dark side in order to negate the bright side, exaggerate the side current to negate the main current, and amplify the shortcomings to negate the achievements. Getting hold of a number of individual issues and superficial phenomena, making exaggerations at will, attacking one point and leaving the rest, for the purpose of spreading panic and preaching moving backward--these are tricks habitually employed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang and all reactionaries to negate the excellent revolutionary situation. They are blind and what appears before them is total darkness. Sometimes they practically go to the extent of confusing right and wrong, black and white. From imperialist prophets to renegades from the proletariat, have they ever stopped publicizing that our revolutionary cause faces the "crisis" of "collapse"? Haven't the bourgeois Rightists figured that the situation is one of touch and go, global disorder and the iminent collapse of the Communist Party? Didn't Liu Shao-ch'i once declare that China "is on the brink of collapse"? Didn't Lin Piao also assert that the political situation in our country was "unstable" and "crisis-ridden"? But history ruthlessly derides and punishes them. Pessimism and defeatism are a bridge to opportunism. The reactionaries' pessimistic appraisal of the revolutionary situation is merely an obstinate expression of their reactionary nature. However, within the revolutionary camp, if one fails to distinguish essence from phenomenon and the main current from the side current, one will be influenced by pessimistic notions spread by the bourgeoisie and thus be liable to be captured by the reactionary ideas of Liu, Lin, Teng and company. All revolutionary comrades should raise their vigilance against this.

Where is the dark side that Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang are fond of talking about? Aren't they themselves the dark side? As the bourgeoisie inside the Party, they are just a "new" heap of garbage in our socialist society, with their counter-revolutionary revisionist line serving as the main root cause of undermining and interfering with the excellent revolutionary situation. Haven't Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang disguised themselves as "professionals" and "insiders" capable of accelerating the economy and promoting production? But it is exactly they who in the course of advocating "profit in command" and "production value in command" vainly attempted to turn the socialist system of ownership into the capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders. It is they who practiced "control, check and repression" and "material incentives" and seriously undermined the socialist enthusiasm of the worker masses. It is they who advocated "the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace" and the "slavish comprador philosophy" and unscrupulously turned the fruit of labor of the Chinese working people into something that fills the pockets

of foreign capitalists. And it is they who first used production as a pretext to repress the revolution, and then when the tide against them, sabotaged production to counter the revolution and finally engineered the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square. Innumerable facts have proved that wherever they make trouble, there all sorts of problems and strange incidents will appear. Only by taking class struggle as the key link and unmasking Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang and using Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to defeat Teng's revisionist line can we further develop the excellent revolutionary situation and promote the flourishing development of our revolutionary cause.

The proletariat represents the orientation of historical progress. As far as the proletariat is concerned, there is nothing to fear about darkness, about side current, about landslips and earth-cracks. Even if the revolution encounters temporary twists and turns, reverses and even defeats, there is also nothing to be afraid of. When the proletariat mounted the political stage more than a century ago, it confronted a bourgeoisie which was a thousand times stronger than itself. Then our revolutionary teachers had already wisely predicted that "the extinction of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat are equally inevitable." Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of the whole country are today displaying with vigor the spirit of daring to win, with the excellent situation of advancing from victory to victory unfolding before us. Holding on to chicken feathers and onion peels /insignificant issues/, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang spread pessimistic views, vainly trying to stop the advance of the people in their hundreds of millions. Like a mantis raising its forearms to stop the advancing chariot, they are bound to end up in total bankruptcy. No matter how frenziedly class enemies try to oppose and undermine the revolutionary cause and regardless of what disasters brought by the destructive power of nature, it is beyond doubt that revolution will triumph over reaction.

"Beside the sunken boat, a thousand sails pass; in front of the withering tree, ten thousand plants turn green." Let the pitiable bourgeoisie wail over their approaching doom. The giant wheel of proletarian revolution will clip the wind and ride the waves in striding into the bright morrow of communism.

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"Direct and Exclusive Control of Enterprises by the Ministry Concerned" Is Bourgeois Dictatorship

by

Kung Hsiao-wen (宮效文)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

"Direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" is an important aspect of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Before and after the summer of last year, it will be recalled, he was blatantly anxious to practice once again "direct and exclusive control" in order to restore capitalism. He went everywhere issuing directives and delivering speeches, describing the excellent situation in which orioles sing and swallows dart as dark and dreary. He alleged that the great cultural revolution had "disrupted" production and portrayed the centralized leadership of local Party committees as "going in for independence" and "weakening the centralized and unified leadership of the center." Therefore, he went everywhere and clamored "what should be centralized must be centralized and not decentralized." Speaking of "unified" in one instance and "centralized" in another, he appeared to suggest that without him as a revisionist chieftain and without his "direct and exclusive control," China would become a pot of sand. How arrogant he was then.

Should a state of proletarian dictatorship have centralized and unified authority? Of course, it should. The question is: for what centralization and unification are intended. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious." The Party exercises leadership in everything -- the Party, government, army, people and schools, in the east, west, north, south and central. Without the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, there will be no dictatorship of the proletariat, only bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, when we talk about unified authority, it must be based on rallying round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But what did Teng Hsiao-p'ing mean when he called for "unified authority"? Here, we might as well cite a remarkable passage from the sinister "On the General Program" which says: "It is impermissible for any Party member or any cadre to set up a mountain stronghold, to practice sectarianism, to form an independent system, to set up a separate authority, and to turn the area or unit under his jurisdiction into an independent kingdom." Doesn't "direct and exclusive control" mean a reactionary "independent kingdom"? Isn't this a typical example of "forming an independent system" and "setting up a separate authority"? Here, Teng Hsiao-p'ing merely referred to "areas" without referring to "ministries." This can only show that he pretended to oppose the "independent kingdom" and a "separate authority" while in reality he was opposed to the leadership of Party committees at all levels from central to local and favored the practice of "direct and

exclusive control." What he meant by "unified authority" in reality refers to subordination to the revisionist practice of "direct and exclusive control" and rallying round Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang.

Whether all work should be subjected to the Party's centralized leadership or placed under "direct and exclusive control" is in essence related to the cardinal issue of whether or not Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat are to be desired. In order to accelerate the planned and proportionate development of the national economy, a socialist state must set up supervisory departments with professionally divided responsibilities, that is, the "ministries." However, we have all along maintained that all "ministries" merely serve as the operating agencies of the Party for accomplishing certain categories of economic work or other kinds of work, as the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, only when the "ministries" themselves are placed under the Party's absolute leadership and unify their thinking, policies and plans in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can they achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Regarding the relationship between the "ministries" and Party leadership, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out to the whole Party back in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: "A department at a higher level should not go solely to its counterpart at the lower level (for instance, a higher department concerned with organization, propaganda or anti-espionage should not go solely to the corresponding department at the lower level), leaving the person in overall charge of the lower organization (such as the secretary, the chairman, the director or the school principal) in ignorance or without responsibility. Both the person in overall charge and the person with specific responsibility should be informed and given responsibility. This centralized method, combining division of labor with unified leadership, makes it possible, through the person with overall responsibility, to mobilize a large number of cadres -- on occasion even an organization's entire personnel -- to carry out a particular task." ("Several Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership") However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control" is diametrically opposed to the Party's centralized leadership. His so-called "centralized and unified authority" is nothing but unilateral emphasis on perpendicular leadership without making any analysis, with the result that each "ministry" acts on its own to exercise sole power and thus to basically nullify the economic powers of the Party Central Committee and local Party committees, rejecting the centralized leadership of Party committees at all levels. This practice of "direct and exclusive control" will certainly divide the economy of the socialist system of ownership by the whole people into the "private property" of "ministries" in charge of particular trades and occupations, accompanied by rigid barriers between departments and trades, with each benefitting at the expense of the other. The relationship between departments would be turned into one of capitalist rivalry. This practice of "direct and exclusive control" will certainly disregard the unified plans of the state and take no account of the equilibrium between various sectors of the national economy, giving one-sided emphasis to the needs of individual departments, undermining the rational distribution of the national economy and comprehensive utilization of natural resources, and above all hampering extensive socialist coordination beyond departmental boundaries. In short,

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control" deviates from both the central and local authorities, drifting away from central control by rigging up "many centers" and exercising bourgeois dictatorship over the localities and the masses. This is exactly to hang the sheep head of "centralized and unified leadership" and sell the dog meat of revisionism.

In order to revert to "direct and exclusive control," Teng Hsiao-p'ing assumed the stance "I am the center" while carrying the banner of "centralized and unified leadership" openly defying Chairman Mao's teachings on bringing into play both the central and local initiatives. Thus he completely negated the vital significance of displaying the local initiative and practiced the imperialist operation of trusts. Chairman Mao has all along stressed the need to correctly handle the relationship between the central government and the localities in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen the socialist economic base, and build a powerful socialist state, declaring that "the localities should do more things under the central unified planning." However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that "many things are left unattended" after enterprises were placed under local supervision, and said "this has affected the development of production." Therefore, he called for "taking over." Facts provide the best answer as to the option between "taking over" or handing over, and whether one initiative or two initiatives is more desirable. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, the situation in which grain is taken from the south to the north and coal from the north to the south has begun to change. Coal, oil, and natural gas have continued to be discovered in the southern regions, with locally-run medium and small industries, such as iron and steel, chemical fertilizer, cement, farm machinery, hydroelectric power generation thriving and output going up many times. By relying on the operation of local industries in a big way, a number of medium and small cities have joined the ranks of newly rising industrial cities. The accelerated development of such advanced industries as that involved in artificial earth satellites has fully attested to the truth that "two initiatives are far better than only one initiative." However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing closed his eyes to these facts, trying instead in every possible way to stifle the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses. In order to impose autocracy on the localities and exercise a bourgeois dictatorship, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wielded three big clubs: that is, taking over authority to deal with "laxity," regulating to cope with "chaos," and stepping up imports to cure "slow growth." Consequently, when it came to planning mechanism, they encouraged monopoly of control with no consideration at all for coordinating central and local administration, let alone giving priority to the latter. Financially and economically, they went to the length of instituting measures favorable to central control but discriminatory to the localities in a bid to dry up a pond to get the fish. In enterprise management, they opposed the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," invoking "the laws of the land" as they pleased and frenziedly applying "control, check and repression." In respect to the policy of walking on two legs, they upheld only one leg and disapproved of simultaneous development of big, medium and small industries, rejecting development in the order of agriculture, light and heavy industries. Opposing independence and self-reliance, they practiced instead the policy

of promoting the development of big enterprises at the expense of small industries, stressing industry and slighting agriculture, and clinging to the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of national betrayal. Isn't it clear, by upholding such "centralized and unified leadership," which type of dictatorship is preferred and what road after all is intended for socialist construction?

Marxism has always maintained that "the vigorous and creative socialism is developed by the masses of people themselves." (Lenin, "Meeting of All-Russia Central Executive Committee") Carrying out socialist revolution and construction calls for bringing into play the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses. In rejecting local initiative, "direct and exclusive control" in the last analysis spurns the enthusiasm of the masses. In Teng Hsiao-p'ing's eyes, the people are just ignorant mobs. In his view, "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and the idea that workers are the masters of factories and worker participation in management are manifestations of "disorganization, indiscipline and anarchy," tendencies that must be "rectified" through "centralized and unified leadership." Harboring this bitter resentment, Teng Hsiao-p'ing did not wait long after he resumed work before he hit back in retaliation. Not only did he re-apply the whole set of "repressive" measures previously imposed on the worker masses but also called for "strict" adherence to "control, check and repression." No sooner did Teng Hsiao-p'ing wield the baton than the "laws" and "regulations" pertaining to "direct and exclusive control" were dished out one after another. The notorious "regulations" serve as an excellent example of "direct and exclusive control." If it is said relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is "relative," then relying on whom is "absolute"? Naturally, the capitalist roaders in the Party and those unreformed bourgeois technical "experts." If this is not dyed-in-the-wool bourgeois dictatorship, what else is it?

The practical experience of class struggle tells us that those who zealously go in for "direct and exclusive control" will inevitably take the road of capitalist restoration. The reason why all revisionists are so keen on practicing "direct and exclusive control" is that it will help the capitalist roaders to push the revisionist line from the top. The lesson drawn from the Soviet Union becoming revisionist has testified to this. Once Khrushchev came to power, he lost no time in adopting an important measure for expediting the restoration of capitalism and disintegrating the socialist unified planned economy, that is, by practicing "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" in a big way and turning the socialist economy into a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy. He even dropped the name of the Communist Party and called it the "industrial party" or "agricultural party" -- amounting to no more than a synonym for the dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Brezhnev has gone even farther than Khrushchev. His so-called "new economic system" in fact invests a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly bourgeoisie with full authority for controlling the national economy of the whole country and calls for the amalgamation of medium and small enterprises by big ones and operation

of production combines, thus empowering the "ministries" to exercise absolute perpendicular leadership and further consolidating and developing the restored capitalist economic foundations. Following in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionist pioneers, Teng Hsiao-p'ing also called for "centralization and integration" and went in again for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises." The purpose is likewise to promote centralization and monopoly of capitalist production, implementation of his whole set of revisionist stuff such as running the factories by professionals, profit in command, material incentives, production first and technology first, negation of Chairman Mao's line and policies for socialist revolution and construction, extension and strengthening of bourgeois rights, and alteration of the character of socialist enterprises. Last year, in localities and departments where the influence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" was felt most strongly, the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts blew more fiercely and the new socialist things were suppressed or discriminated against all the more obviously. Therefore, if Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line continued to be practiced, socialist enterprises would exist in name but not in fact, the socialist economy would become a bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist economy under the control of a handful of capitalist roaders, and capitalism would be restored in China.

While denouncing the opportunists who loudly clamored for "centralization," Engels pointed out: "Those who give the most lip service to this slogan are precisely the culprits for instigationg splits." ("To A. Bebel") By flaunting the ensign of "centralization and unification" and going in for "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" in a big way, isn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing the chief culprit for splitting the Party leadership and restoring capitalism? In the name of "centralization and unification," in essence "direct and exclusive control of enterprises" aims at setting up an independent kingdom and exercising dictatorship over the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the broad masses. Today, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has collapsed, but the pernicious influence of his revisionist line has not been entirely eliminated. From now on, the struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line will continue to be protracted. As long as the transition from socialism to communism is not completed, this struggle will persist. Criticizing Teng means repudiating revisionism. For this reason, we must deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, carry the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts through to the end, and insure that our country will always advance in triumph along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

* * *

Worker Participation in Management Is Good

by

Central Study Group of the Party Committee
of Chunghua Shipyard

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

Is the worker participation in management good or bad? Our approach to this question is contrary to that of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. In the view of the proletariat, the worker participation in management is a major measure for placing the leadership of the enterprise in the hands of Marxists and the worker masses, adhering to the socialist orientation, adjusting the mutual relationship among people and restricting bourgeois rights in the enterprise. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the "Regulations" for revisionist enterprise management prepared on his instruction, maliciously condemn the worker participation in management as "something outside their fields" and as "opposition to rules and systems." The worker participation in management is slanderously accused of "causing anarchy." In short, in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's eyes, worker participation in management is utterly wrong.

In regard to the accusation that the worker participation in management is "something outside their fields," it may be asked: what is the "legitimate occupation" of the workers? In the view of the bourgeoisie, the workers are nothing more than walking machines and their "legitimate occupation" is to toil like beasts of burden. This reactionary logic is followed by both capitalists and the capitalist roaders. Before the great cultural revolution, due to the sabotage and interference of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in running enterprises, the power of management in our shipyard was basically held by capitalist roaders, capitalists and bourgeois "experts" and "authorities." At that time, a worker of the casting and forging workshop angrily asked the secretary of the former Party committee: "Our plant is a socialist enterprise and we workers are its masters. Why do you allow the capitalists to control us?" The reply to his question was this: "Mind your own business. When you do your job with a hammer well, all will be right!" Look, was there any difference between this tune and that of the capitalists in the old society? Engels said: "The inevitable consequence of individual management of industry is private ownership." ("Communist Principles") As the worker masses had no say at all about enterprise management, capitalism flooded the plant, in the form of such things as "profit in command," "output value first," "material incentives" and "bonus system." Nominally it was an enterprise owned by the whole people; in effect, it was transforming itself into a capitalist factory owned by the capitalist roaders--capitalists. The relationship between leaders and the masses was being turned into one between employer and employee, between cat and mouse. What a shocking picture of restoration!

Not long after the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin time and again emphasized the need to "generally draw all workers into the

administration of the state." ("Report on the Revision of the Party Program and Changing the Name of the Party") Moreover, he pointed out incisively: "At all costs we must break the old, absurd, savage, despicable and disgusting prejudice that only the so-called 'upper classes,' only the rich, and those who have gone through the school of the rich, are capable of administering the state and directing the organizational construction of socialist society." ("How To Organize Competition") Clinging to the bourgeois "old prejudice" that Lenin strongly denounced, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the "Regulations" prepared on his instruction, openly condemned the worker participation in management as "something outside their fields" and threatened the worker masses to give up their right to be masters of the house. Doesn't this show that they "persist in the ideological system of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the capitalist social system, and oppose the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist social system"? Going all out to strangle the worker participation in enterprise management, they encouraged capitalist roaders who "are not afraid of being struck down for a second time" to "capture" the power of enterprise manaement they have lost. Would that not amount to a re-enactment of the scene of capitalist restoration in quite a number of enterprises before the great cultural revolution?

Another absurd argument with which the "Regulations" attacks worker participation in enterprise management is: "opposition to rules and systems." What kind of rules and systems are opposed? This is not mentioned in the "Regulations." In class society, rules and systems are of a class character. In our plant the old workers clench their teeth at the mention of the capitalist "factory rules" in the old society, because those "factory rules" were in fact chains tied around the workers so that the capitalists could suck the blood of the workers as much as possible. Before the great cultural revolution, under the rule of the revisionist line, rules and systems in our plant were as numerous as the hair of an ox. For the system of quality inspection alone, there were more than 70 rules. When a welder inadvertently burned a hole the size of a grain on a cabin board, he was fined 800 yuan by the inspectors following the rules and systems. Moreover, since then he was forbidden to take on any apprentice! Look, was there any difference between such rules and systems which controlled, checked and repressed the worker and those factory rules set by the capitalists in the old society? If such revisionist rules and systems were not removed, the workers would forever be law-abiding slaves, not masters of the factory and enterprise. Thus, the moment struggle-criticism-transformation was initiated in the cultural revolution, the first workers inspection team appeared in our shipyard. Together with the office personnel, members of the team began with an attack on the revisionist inspection system.

When workers participate in enterprise management, criticize and abolish the revisionist rules and systems of control, check and repression, this is precisely for the purpose of instituting socialist rules and systems which facilitate the mobilization of the socialist enthusiasm of the masses, the improvement of relations beween man and man within the enterprise and the development of production. For instance, the welding group 3 of the hull workshop and the automatic welding group of the shipbuilding workshop are two welding groups which take care of the inspection of their work by

themselves. On the basis of practical experiences, they separately drew up six rules and systems which conform to the law of production technology, enforced them consciously, and effectively raised the quality of welding. Since the beginning of this year, they have not only overfulfilled their assignments every month, but their welding quality has been up to the specification a hundred percent every month. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this unrepentant capitalist roader, putting on the airs of a slave superintendent, turned a blind eye to the creation of the worker masses. Instead, he yelled that the worker participation in management had caused the enterprise "chaos" and "laxity," that it was necessary to "strictly enforce the rules and systems," and that "rigid restraint" must be imposed on the workers. Quite obviously, his purpose in crying himself hoarse in this way was to reinstate the revisionist rules and systems that had been criticized and abolished by the workers during the cultural revolution so as to speed up the restoration of capitalism. This tells us by negative example that the reform of rules and systems is a serious class struggle. To continue adjusting the relations among people within an enterprise, we must persevere in arousing the workers to participate in management and to continue to reform irrational rules and systems.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing also said with an ulterior motive: the worker participation in management "is bound to cause anarchy." This is like a thief crying "catch the thief." In our state of proletarian dictatorship, "anarchy" means insubordination to the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and failure to act according to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The worker participation in enterprise management is precisely to place the leadership of the enterprise in the hands of genuine Marxists and the worker masses to insure that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is thoroughly implemented and the enterprise always advances in the socialist direction. Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing slanderously charged the worker participation in management with "causing anarchy," then, what kind of "government" did he really want? Look, the moment he resumed work, he opposed taking class struggle as the key link and instead advocated "taking the three directives as the key link." He opposed the Party's leadership and instead reinstated "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." He opposed putting proletarian politics in command and instead promoted "material incentives." He opposed independence and self-reliance and instead trumpeted the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of trailing behind others. He opposed the workers becoming masters of the house and instead practiced "control, check and repression" in a big way. In short, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and what he pushed is the revisionist line. In effect, he himself is a downright chieftain practicing anarchism. And the facts also prove that wherever this revisionist line of his spread, damage would be caused. "Anarchism was not infrequently a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement. The two monstrosities were mutually complementary." (Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder") The most fundamental way to change "anarchy" is to take class struggle as the key link, fully arouse the masses to launch in depth revolutionary mass criticism. At present it is necessary to adhere to

the general orientation of criticizing Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist wind. Yet Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the cookers of the "Regulations" looked the other way. This can only show that all revisionists, since truth is not with them, have no choice but to live on rumors and false accusations.

The experience of class struggle tells us that whether the management of a factory and enterprise should depend on a few persons or on the working class is a major question bearing on whether or not it is possible to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through grassroots units. As Lenin pointed out: "If really all people take part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot be sustained." ("The State and Revolution") Teng Hsiao-p'ing cried aloud that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and this exposed his bourgeois nature in a big way. In plain truth, "relative" means that those who followed his revisionist line were to be "relied on," and those who opposed it were to be suppressed. Such a "theory of relativity" was in essence aimed at making the working class submit to his command and giving him a free hand in rigging up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao pointed out explicitly as early as on the eve of the liberation: "It is necessary to rely on the working class heart and soul." Since the start of the great cultural revolution, we have, acting on Chairman Mao's instruction, persistently followed the road of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," so that new development has been gained in both the form and content of the worker participation in management. In 1968, we had more than 100 worker inspection teams, which played a significant part in promoting struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure. Over the past several years and particularly in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we have, through the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, further raised our awareness of the need to rely on the working class. Under the leadership of the Party committee, a variety of managerial forms with the worker masses as the mainstay have appeared; these include the worker management committee, the worker production command unit, and the worker technical advisory group. Practice has enabled us to come to the profound realization that only by wholeheartedly relying on the working class and managing the line and the orientation will it be possible to push all work ahead along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If things were done according to the way suggested by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his revisionist "Regulations," what was "accelerated" would definitely not be the development of socialist industry but the restoration of capitalism.

Chairman Mao said long ago: "To be opposed by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing." The fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing regarded worker participation in management as a thorn in the flesh and tried by all possible means to strangle it precisely shows that worker participation in management is good, very good. Hence, however sharp and complicated the class and line struggles may be in the future, we must resolutely work in diametrical opposition to the revisionist line, rely on the working class heart and soul, and carry through to the end the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

The Bankruptcy of the Theory of Productive Forces As Seen from the Law of Agricultural Production in Our County

by

CCP Shanghai County Committee

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 9, September 14, 1976)

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's political declaration for capitalist restoration, "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country," flagrantly trumpets the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," peddles the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, openly negates class struggle as the key link, and opposes the Party's basic program and basic line. During the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we have seriously studied Chairman Mao's instruction on the theory of proletarian dictatorship and a series of directives given recently. We have investigated and studied the past and present development of agricultural production in our county since the liberation. As a result, we have seen still more clearly the reactionary essence of the theory of productive forces advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Taking the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, "On the General Program" viciously vilifies our criticism of revisionism as "cutting politics apart from economics" and "paying attention only to politics and not to economics, only to revolution and not to production." In fact, it is none other than this band of revisionists including Teng Hsiao-p'ing who sever and reverse the relationship between politics and economics. Marxism holds that there is no production which is not carried out under given relations of production. Following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production in our country, Chairman Mao made an analysis of the harmony as well as conflict between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. "Our socialist system," he pointed out, "still requires a process of continuous establishment and consolidation." He urged us to firmly take class struggle as the key link and to continue to deepen the socialist revolution in respect to the relations of production and the superstructure before it would be possible to promote the vigorous development of the cause of socialist construction. The course of development of agricultural production in our county over the past 20 years and more fully testifies to the truth pointed out by the revolutionary teacher.

From 1949 to 1975, our county's average per-mow output of grain grew by 2½ times, that of cotton by 5. The output of oil-bearing crops, vegetables, and live pigs was either double or rose by many times. Now the gross output of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, vegetables and pigs is equivalent to the combined gross output of three or four counties of Shanghai county's size in the early days of the liberation. The level of income of the peasants has risen considerably. Apart from income from

family subsidiary occupations, per capita annual income is about 180 yuan. This means that the income of one person is equivalent to the combined incomes of four or five persons in the early days of the liberation.

How has agricultural production in our county developed? Looking back over our recent past, we see that whether agricultural production can be pushed up and the rate of its development are invariably determined by the state of class struggle and the state of the socialist revolution in respect to the relations of production and the superstructure. As a rule, substantial development of production follows significant changes in the relations of production caused by a great revolutionary movement. This law is shown clearly by the following analysis of the condition of grain production.

From 1950 to 1951, through the land reform movement , the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in our county, freed from the fetters of the feudal relations of production, became for the first time masters of the land, and the enthusiasm for production soared as never before. Per-mow output of grain rose sharply from 458 catties in 1949 to 733 catties in 1951, an increase of 80 percent.

From 1951 to 1954, the mutual aid and cooperation movement was gradually unfolded, and production progressed with the state's help. But the small peasant economy was unable to withstand the storm, production was rather unstable, and polarization appeared. In these several years, the output of 1953 was relatively higher, thanks to the extensive publicity of the Party's general line for the transitional period and to the mobilization of initiative of the masses for mutual aid and cooperation. In 1954, Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their gang opposed the cooperativization and slashed the "spontaneous cooperatives," thereby dampening the socialist enthusiasm of the masses, and output declined.

From 1955 to 1956, the socialist transformation movement was set in motion and cooperativization was realized. This freed the means of production from the bondage of the system of small private owners and led to the establishment of the system of collective ownership by the working masses. With the organized forces showing their power, the per-mow output of grain in 1956 rose to 821 catties. In 1957, the bourgeois Rightists, in coordination with the bourgeoisie in the Party, mounted an attack on the Party, and in the countryside the capitalist forces also blew up a "small typhoon" of withdrawing from the cooperatives. Production dropped once again.

The year 1958 witnessed a great leap forward. On the basis of the victories won in the anti-Rightist struggle, a mass movement of unprecedented scale for building farmland water conservation projects began to appear in the winter of 1957 and the spring of 1958. Closely on the heel of this, under the illumination of the general line for socialist construction set by Chairman Mao, the people's commune -- this brand-new form of social organization -- was born, resulting in the further expansion and improvement of the system of collective ownership and the further

emancipation of the productive forces. That year per-mow output of grain rose sharply to 951 catties. But in the several years that followed, due to the sabotage of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and to serious natural calamities, production declined. Per-mow output of grain hovered around 850 catties from 1961 to 1963.

In September 1962, the 10th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Party was convened, when Chairman Mao more comprehensively put forward the Party's basic line for the historical phase of socialism and issued the great appeal "Never forget class struggle," thereby arming the whole Party and the heads of vast numbers of cadres and masses. The four-clean movement, initiated in 1963, struck at the sabotage of class enemies and halted the evil wind stirred up by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing for restoring capitalism, consolidated the collective economy, and brought about a big-margin increase in production. The 1964 output of grain per mow rose from 862 catties in the preceding year to 1,102 catties, and our county for the first time became a county with a thousand catties per-mow output of grain.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a strong propellant for the development of the social productive forces in our country." During this revolution, in our county as in the rest of the nation, Mao Tsetung Thought was popularized to an unprecedented degree, and the consciousness of the cadres and the masses with regard to class and line struggles and to continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat rose considerably. The collective economy of the people's commune was further consolidated and expanded, accompanied by a more rapid development of agricultural production. In 1969, per-mow grain output rose sharply by 200 catties over the preceding year to 1,391 catties. And following the deepening of struggle-criticism-transformation and the further development of the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, grain output in our county increased year after year and exceeded 1,600 catties per mow in 1973; by 1975 it had doubled the "Program" per-mow target for three years in a row.

As Lenin pointed out incisively: "If a class fails to find correct political solutions to problems, it will be able neither to maintain its rule nor to achieve its production tasks." ("More on the Trade Union, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin") The facts eloquently prove that only by persisting in the socialist revolution is it possible to promote continuous development of production, and that the revisionist line and capitalist tendencies, as is always the case, can only cause the greatest obstruction and destruction to production. If we follow the methods set forth by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in "On the General Program," our industrial and production will certainly drop and the fruits of more than 20 years of arduous struggle will come to naught. This we will never permit to happen!

"On the General Program" also slanderously accuses us of believing that "there is no need to expand energy on grasping production." For many years both cadres and commune members in our county have expended enormous

amounts of energy on acquiring the skills of agricultural production, but these bourgeois overlords are completely ignorant of that! In those years when substantial progress was registered in production, successes were made possible precisely by our effort to grasp the chief aspects of production techniques and by major breakthroughs. The growth of production in the several years preceding cooperativization was realized by the gradual expansion of the two-crop system of rice and wheat, the popularization of the "Laolaich'ing" fine seeds of paddy rice and the major effects of "close planting of small plants." The great production increase of 1958 would have been impossible without the movement to build farmland water conservation projects on a large scale and to accumulate natural manure in a big way or the gradual increase in the power-irrigated acreage. The general substitution of the fine paddy rice seed "Nungken 58" for the gradually deteriorating "Laolaich'ing" was a crucial factor in production techniques that enabled per-mow output of grain to exceed a thousand catties in 1964. The continuous growth of production since the great cultural revolution and the doubling of the "Program" per-mow target for three years running were chiefly due to major technical breakthroughs in two aspects: First, the overall reform of the farming system, the introduction of the three-crop system and the gradual improvement of the cultivation management level of the three-crop system; second, the considerable rise in the level of farm mechanization, which insures seasonal applicability of the three-crop system and releases more manpower for intensive farming.

However, while expending our energy on production we must still insist on using proletarian politics to command production techniques. Production techniques have to be mastered and applied by people, and no breakthrough in any aspect can be separated from the revolution in the relations of production and the superstructure. Take an example. The fine seed "Laolaich'ing" and the cultivation technique of "close planting of small plants" were only popularized gradually after mutual-aid teams were formed, and extensively after cooperatives came into being and collective ownership of the means of production was effected. As for the basic realization of mechanization and the general introduction of the three-crop system, these were precisely the manifestations of the superiority of the people's commune having "a large size and a high degree of public ownership" and the results of the criticism of the revisionist line during the great cultural revolution. These facts precisely show that the relations of production exert a tremendous promotional effect on the productive forces and of the superstructure on the economic base. Hence, only by grasping revolution is it possible to promote production. If we are engrossed in production without concerning ourselves with class struggle and revolution, we will not produce any good results but may even go astray.

Politics commands economics, and revolution commands production--this should be the case every year, and forever. After the doubling of the "Program" per-mow grain target, our next objective was to produce more than 2 thousand catties of grain per mow. But in these several years we felt it quite difficult to push production up further. Why? In the final analysis, it was because a new contradiction appeared between the relations of production and the productive forces in the course of advance, and this contradiction had

to be settled. For instance, to achieve a per-mow grain output of 2 thousand catties, farmland water conservation facilities not only must meet the needs for resisting drought, eliminating waterlogging and resisting natural disasters, but must also satisfy the needs for irrigating the rice fields at the right moment, with an appropriate amount of water and at regular intervals. Also, under different kinds of climates, it would be necessary for irrigation to be carried out in the daytime and drainage to be done at night or vice versa, so that water might be used to raise or lower the temperature, regulate the local climate in the fields and enhance or control the growth of the paddy rice. Yüt'ang brigade of Mach'iao commune has for seven years in a row achieved a per-mow output of over 2 thousand catties. In 1974 its per-mow output was 2,420 catties, with its per-mow output of late rice exceeding 800 catties. The management of irrigation in the above manner did the trick. There are also some advanced units which have generally done the same thing. Then, why is it that other places cannot emulate Yüt'ang's irrigation management? Here is involved a question of production relations. Yüt'ang brigade gives attention to developing the function of the ownership at the brigade level, to overcoming the limitations of the small collective of the production teams, and to unified arrangements and unified control of field irrigation and drainage by the brigade. A pumping outlet takes care of 400-500 mow of land. When the machine is started, in a few hours all the fields of the brigade can be fully irrigated or drained completely. But our whole county cannot do this, and the reason is that the county has a total of 3,000 pumping outlets, each of which takes care of an average of more than 1,000 mow of land. It takes 2-3 days to water all the fields. Therefore, to extensively popularize the experience of the advanced units and to achieve a breakthrough in the technique of irrigation management, it is necessary to carry out a general adjustment of the irrigation and drainage system. To do this, it is necessary to solve the new contradiction in production relations and to bring into full play the function of the ownership at the brigade level. Hunghsing brigade of T'angwan commune in our county has eight production teams, located in a terrain which is high in the south and low in the north. In the past it had only one pumping outlet. The land near the outlet was submerged while the several production teams in the south did not have water and often quarreled with one another. After 1970, the brigade developed industry, and with more capital accumulated, it mapped out a new plan according to the terrain. With the brigade investing in and taking over the irrigation and drainage system, four separate pumping outlets were established, and the per-mow output of grain has reached 2 thousand catties since 1974. Similar contradictions are also encountered in respect to large-scale levelling of land, implementing farm gardening, building water conservation projects and improving the soil, as well as further increasing the level of mechanization and fully developing the efficiency of machines. These contradictions should gradually be solved by increasing the strength of the ownership at the brigade and commune levels and bringing their function into fuller play.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." We are resolved to take Chairman Mao's theory regarding proletarian dictatorship as the guide, grasp class struggle as

the key link, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and his three anti-Party, anti-Marxist big poisonous weeds. We must deepen the socialist revolution in the countryside and turn Shanghai county as soon as possible into a truly Tachai-type county so that agricultural production will develop at a faster rate along the socialist path.

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Strive To Be Promoters in Developing Commune- and Brigade-Run Industries

by

Liang Wei-kang (梁伟刚)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, commune- and brigade-run industries in Shanghai's outlying areas have gained considerable development. This is of far-reaching significance to the acceleration of farm mechanization, the promotion of the further development of ownership by the people's commune, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and narrowing the differences between workers and peasants and between town and country. Its effects have been manifested and are being manifested everywhere.

However, there are some muddled or even admittedly erroneous notions on this question at the moment. If not clarified, these views are bound to impede to a greater or lesser extent the further development of commune- and brigade-run industries.

Can we say that aid from enterprises owned by the whole people in developing commune- and brigade-run industries is "a backward step"? No, this view is wrong. While the extent of public ownership under the system of ownership by the whole people is naturally greater than that under the system of collective ownership, the existence of this difference precisely illustrates that bourgeois rights in the sphere of ownership have not been completely eliminated. Like the course of development of anything from the lower to the higher level, the development of ownership by the people's commune follows a course of passing from a small collective to a large collective and from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people. Giving support to the development of commune-and brigade-run industries and continuously consolidating and strengthening the collective economy at the commune and brigade levels exactly contributes to the creation of conditions for bringing about, step by step, this change in the future. This is clearly advance, not moving backward. As Lenin said rightly: "It is still necessary for the state to assist the communes. If the state does not help various types of collective agricultural enterprises, then we will no longer be Communists and give no support to building the socialist economy." ("Speech at the First Congress of Agricultural Communes and Agricultural Labor Combines") Therefore, if you truly want to gradually eradicate bourgeois rights in the sphere of ownership and accelerate the pace of socialist transformation of ownership, then you should bring into play ownership by the whole people and accelerate the development of commune- and brigade-run industries for the growth of the collective economy.

Can we look upon giving support to the development of commune- and brigade-run industries as a "burden" and a "troublesome thing"? No. We should fully recognize that correctly handling the relations between workers

and peasants and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance are of tremendous importance to consolidating the socialist system. In the Chinese revolution, the peasantry has always been the working class' most reliable ally. To gradually eliminate the differences between workers and peasants and between town and country, we must first of all develop and improve the collective economy in the countryside. Chairman Mao has all along emphasized the development of the national economy in the order of agriculture, light and heavy industries, development of industry with attention directed at simultaneous promotion of large, medium and small projects, and "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" as the general policy for the development of the national economy. The development of commune- and brigade-run industries is an important integral part of successful operation of medium and small industries, which directly or indirectly serve agriculture. At the same time, developing commune- and brigade-run industries is in turn a help to big industries themselves. When some products are produced by commune- and brigade-run industries, big industries can then turn to the development of sophisticated items. On the other hand, the odds and ends of big industries can also be used by commune- and brigade-run industries for a variety of purposes, thus turning waste to treasure. Furthermore, certain categories of consumer items for daily use cannot possibly be handled entirely by big industries and in this respect commune- and brigade-run industries can become an important assistant. We must also see that developing commune- and brigade-run industries is intended to implement Chairman Mao's "May 7" directive, so as to "integrate agriculture with industry and promote gradual elimination of antagonism between town and country." This being the case, how can we look upon the development of commune- and brigade-run industries as "asking for trouble" and "carrying a burden"?

"Will operation of commune- and brigade-run industries encourage the development of capitalist tendencies?" This misgiving shows that problems have not been viewed from the line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line determines everything." This is also true with the development of commune- and brigade-run industries. Questions like whether to persist in taking agriculture as the foundation to benefit agricultural development or to put money in command at the expense of agriculture; whether to take appropriate measures in accordance with local conditions, rely on one's own effort and tap indigenous resources or to aspire to grandiose and modern projects; whether to adhere to the part-work, part-farming system or to widen the gap between workers and peasants; and whether to do things according to the socialist principle of exchange of commodities or to take advantage of commodity exchanges to blow the bourgeois wind--all these questions reflect two diametrically opposing lines. The main reason why capitalist tendencies existed in some places in the past was not the existence of commune- and brigade-run industries themselves, but that we failed to develop them according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Therefore, the correct approach should emphasize thriving development of commune- and brigade-run industries along the right track by taking class struggle as the key link, persistently unfolding the two-line struggle, continuously criticizing capitalist tendencies and resisting the erosion of the bourgeois wind. If we abandon commune- and brigade-run

industries for fear of "hiccup" instead of approaching them with an innovative spirit and drawing a distinction from the line, then we may bring about sharp antagonisms between workers and peasants and between town and country, with the result that capitalist forces in town and countryside will move in to undermine the socialist system and break the worker-peasant alliance. This is something we should guard against.

The key to developing commune- and brigade-run industries lies in the leadership at all levels attaching importance to these industries. As far as industrial and commercial departments are concerned, they must not only give full play to the superiority of big industries and give greater support to commune- and brigade-run industries, but also rely on the masses in developing the initiative from two sources and open up supply channels as far as possible. As far as financial departments are concerned, they must do well the work as "match makers" and "track and bridge builders," assist the commune- and brigade-run industries to establish a sound financial system and use funds rationally, and make a success of financial supervision according to socialist principles. As far as agricultural departments are concerned, serving agriculture should be given top priority in developing commune- and brigade-run industries, and at the same time, they should serve the daily needs of the people and wherever possible serve big industries and the export trade as well. They should also make proper arrangements for labor power both for industry and agriculture and devote attention to running enterprises with diligence and thrift and narrowing the difference between workers and peasants. In short, the key to developing commune- and brigade-run industries rests with the leadership, the line. Proceeding from the plane of achieving the grand goal of communism, we must see to it that commune- and brigade-run industries advance along the socialist path.

As early as 1959, when the people's communes appeared with overall development of industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, Chairman Mao pointed out happily: Here lie our great and bright hopes. Although our commune- and brigade-run industries are still fledgling today, they represent a step of far-reaching significance in the course of advance toward communism. All of our comrades should wholeheartedly support them and strive to become their promoters.

* * *

Strive To Be Promoters in Developing Production

by

A small group of Third Sub-bureau, Shanghai
Municipal Finance Bureau

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

As financial workers, we should see that factories fulfill their tasks of paying taxes and delivering profits to the state. Higher revenues and profits by factories mean more taxes paid and profits delivered to the state. Therefore, we are most concerned with the value of finished products and the profit targets. Last year we came upon this incident: With the assistance of the Shanghai Chemical Engineering Institute, the workers and technicians of No. 4 Workshop of Shanghai Coking Works, with which we had connections, succeeded in 1971 in trial-manufacturing thiophene -- an important pharmaceutical raw material -- with waste acids. After three years of trial production, it was decided that production capacity be expanded to begin production on a regular basis. This called for the procurement of the requisite equipment and erection of plant premises. The first problem we came upon was funding and the question of negotiating loans from the bank was raised. A tough problem before us then was this: merely several hundred kilograms of thiophene were hitherto produced and if the production capacity was stepped up, output would be no more than several thousand kilograms -- one in several thousands compared with the value of the major products of the plant. Whether it would be worthwhile to borrow up to ¥100,000 for this marginal product was debatable. Judging by the production of thiophene at the time, moreover, a loss would be certain. In dealing with the proposition of using funds on a product with no prospect of getting back what was spent on it, we were sharply divided in our opinions.

Putting product value and profit in command and making a loan on the basis of product value and profit with no consideration for the needs of national construction and the people's livelihood -- this is a concrete expression of the revisionist line. Recalling what we experienced in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we criticized the revisionist line and agreed that this should be rejected. We also realized that it would be wrong for us financial workers to finance production with state funds without regard for economic results. In correctly dealing with this contradiction, we did not find the answer until we had gone among the worker masses and been educated by them and enhanced our understanding.

Why is it that in the process of trial-manufacturing thiophene, the workers were fired by such tremendous revolutionary enthusiasm? According to our understanding, thiophene is an important raw material of cephalosporin for quick relief of fever. In the past imperialist countries bullied us for being unable to produce this and tried to blackmail us by withholding supply or raising the price. When we succeeded in trial-

manufacturing thiophene and cephalosporin was produced by pharmaceutical plants, the foreign capitalists accused us of putting a "Made in China" label on the imported medicine. The Chinese working class is now determined to produce this preparation to vindicate itself, and is this merely a production battle? Rather, it is a political battle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. At the same time, the workers themselves, as the masters of the country and enterprise, made a serious reckoning of the product value and profits. They not only tried hard to cut down consumption and reduce the production cost but were good at taking everything into account. Several hundred kilograms of thiophene were small in value and there was loss in the trial-manufacturing phase, but when they were taken to the pharmaceutical plants to be processed into cephalosporin, they produced a production value of 2-3 million yuan and a profit of over 1 million yuan to the state. Besides, this product plays a great role in saving the dying and curing the sick on the health front. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Increasing our financial revenues through developing the national economy is the basic principle of our financial policy." ("Our Economic Policy") This shows that to take only one enterprise into account, to see only the temporary loss in the trial-manufacturing of a new product, and to be afraid of taking risks in securing a loan -- this lack of foresight was criticized by Chairman Mao who identified it as a manifestation of being concerned solely with the question of financial receipts and expenditures. We learned from the workers how to reckon things with the whole situation and changing developments in mind and thus quickly unified our understanding. With the approval of the leadership, we gave a loan to this plant so it could purchase the necessary equipment for expanding production of thiophene.

After the loan was made, our job as financial workers appeared to have been accomplished. But for the plant involved, it was only the beginning of its work. Particularly when they, displaying the revolutionary spirit of "seizing the day and seizing the hour," strove hard to fulfill their plans ahead of schedule, the time lag from placing an order to taking delivery of certain equipment posed some difficulties. In coping with these difficulties, should we step in or just stand aloof?

Influenced by the revisionist line, which discourages different trades or professions from helping each other, we financial workers in the past were concerned with only overseeing the factories in the implementation of their financial system, paying taxes in full and delivering profits to the state on time. Whenever we came upon problems arising from production, we simply submitted a report to a higher level. In the view of some people, this way of doing things conformed to established practices and was therefore proper, while meddling in things that were not our concern would be considered inappropriate. This shopworn and conservative approach to financial work, clearly a bad style of work akin to the practice of overlords, seriously undermined men's socialist interrelations in production and adversely affected the socialist economic base. Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out 33 years ago: "On financial and economic questions, 90 percent of our energies should be directed at helping

the peasants increase production and the remaining 10 percent at collecting taxes from them. Having done arduous work on the former case, we shall find the latter simple and easy." ("Unfolding Rent Reduction, Production and Support the Government and Cherish the People Movement in the Base Areas") This means that to make a success of financial work we should first of all devote ourselves to the development of production and be promoters in this regard. In light of the wide area of contact for our financial work, every factory has its own financial supervisor to help put its financial affairs in order. Through the financial supervisors of other factories, we knew that some urgently needed equipment were available, so we informed the coking plant to acquire them through proper procedures. Thus the coking plant obtained in a very short time the necessary equipment for the production of thiophene and the scheduled production of the new product was realized. The present monthly output of thiophene has attained the anticipated level only four months after production formally commenced. Through the efforts of the worker masses to tap potentials and reduce consumption, the production cost has dropped by 80 percent, and the loss was turned into a profit. Judging from the present state of production, it is expected that in less than two years the total amount of the loan could be recovered from profits surrendered to the state.

In reviewing our work, we deeply realize that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line determines everything. As financial workers before the great cultural revolution, under the influence of the revisionist line, we merely visited the financial department of each factory to look at its books and make some audits. This method of work, if applied today, would hardly obtain the support of the worker masses. Our present achievements in promoting the development of production result from criticizing the revisionist line and, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, from going among the worker masses to work with them and to be re-educated by them. In summing up our work in the past years, we may say that financial work should be aimed at developing production, and this not only involves a change in the method of work but also calls for, in the first place, transforming the world outlook of the financial personnel. Without strong proletarian feelings, we shall not be able to identify ourselves with the worker masses in thinking and strive to find solutions to their pressing problems. When we visited the workshop and found the workers immersed in experiments turning out products that "win glory for the country" and hit hard at the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries despite the suffocating odors of sulphur and acids and relying only on indigenous methods of using pots and cans, how could we turn our backs against them? How could we cling to our "regular profession" and do nothing about assisting the workers to look for equipment and raw materials when factory workers and mangerial staff exerted themselves to outdo one another regardless of their stations of work? The production of thiophene by the worker masses provided us with a profound lesson. We must adhere to the Party's basic line and strive to be promoters in developing production and make a success of financial work in the interest of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism.

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